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(Original Signature of Member)

115TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. _____

To limit assistance for areas of Syria controlled by the Government of Syria
or associated forces, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

M____. _____ introduced the following bill; which was referred to the
Committee on _____

A BILL

To limit assistance for areas of Syria controlled by the Gov-
ernment of Syria or associated forces, and for other
purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “No Assistance for
5 Assad Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress makes the following findings:

1 (1) Six years into the conflict in Syria, over 11
2 million Syrians have been displaced from their
3 homes and over 400,000 civilians have been killed.

4 (2) Since the conflict in Syria began, the
5 United States has provided more than \$7.4 billion to
6 meet humanitarian needs of the Syrian people, mak-
7 ing the United States the world's single largest
8 donor to the Syrian humanitarian response.

9 (3) As the Syrian regime continues the use
10 cluster munitions to carry out indiscriminate attacks
11 against civilians, the United States has played an es-
12 sential role in clearing unexploded ordnance in
13 Syria, as civilians seek to return home to areas liber-
14 ated from Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

15 (4) It is estimated that the reconstruction of
16 Syria could cost between \$200 and \$350 billion.

17 (5) According to the 2016 Transparency Inter-
18 national Corruption Index, Syria is among the most
19 corrupt countries in the world.

20 (6) Reconstruction funds can be expected to be
21 siphoned off to the regime of Syrian President
22 Bashar al-Assad, given the rampant corruption.

23 (7) In October 2015, a visiting Russian delega-
24 tion to Syria announced that Russian firms would
25 lead in the effort to rebuild Syria, and Syrian Presi-

1 dent Bashar al-Assad reportedly said, “Syria is
2 ready to provide Russian companies with all the con-
3 tracts worth hundreds of billions of dollars.”.

4 (8) In August 2017, the Government of the
5 People’s Republic of China hosted a trade fair in
6 Syria, and a Chinese-Arab business group an-
7 nounced a \$2,000,000,000 commitment from the
8 Chinese government to fund the construction of in-
9 dustrial parks in Syria.

10 **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

11 It shall be the policy of the United States that United
12 States assistance made available for early recovery, recon-
13 struction, or stabilization in Syria should be used in a
14 democratic Syria or in areas of Syria not controlled by
15 the Government of Syria led by Bashar al-Assad or associ-
16 ated forces.

17 **SEC. 4. LIMITATION ON ASSISTANCE FOR AREAS OF SYRIA**
18 **CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF**
19 **SYRIA OR ASSOCIATED FORCES.**

20 (a) LIMITATION.—

21 (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in sub-
22 section (d), amounts authorized to be appropriated
23 for each of the fiscal years 2018 through 2022 for
24 assistance described in paragraph (2) may be pro-
25 vided under any other provision of law, directly or

1 indirectly, for any area of Syria controlled by the
2 Government of Syria or associated forces only dur-
3 ing a period for which a certification described in
4 subsection (b) is in effect.

5 (2) ASSISTANCE DESCRIBED.—Assistance re-
6 ferred to in paragraph (1) is the following:

7 (A) Assistance to enable disaster-affected
8 populations to transition from dependence upon
9 emergency assistance to early recovery and self
10 reliance, including the restoration of basic serv-
11 ices, livelihoods, shelter, and security, and the
12 reintegration of displaced populations.

13 (B) Assistance to carry out stabilization
14 activities for the relevant area.

15 (C) Assistance to carry out reconstruction
16 activities for the relevant area.

17 (b) CERTIFICATION.—A certification described in this
18 subsection is a certification submitted by the President to
19 the appropriate congressional committees that contains a
20 determination of the President that the Government of
21 Syria—

22 (1) has ceased any attacks against civilians and
23 civilian infrastructure as such, including attacks
24 against medical facilities and personnel, and any in-
25 discriminate use of weapons, including through shell-

1 ing and aerial bombardment, as demanded in United
2 Nations Security Council Resolution 2254 (2015);

3 (2) is taking verifiable steps to release all polit-
4 ical prisoners and is providing full access to Syrian
5 prisons for investigations by appropriate inter-
6 national human rights organizations;

7 (3) is taking verifiable steps to remove senior
8 officials of the Government of Syria who are
9 complicit in the planning, implementation, or cover
10 up of war crimes, crimes against humanity, or
11 human rights abuses and any person subject to
12 sanctions under any provision of law from govern-
13 ment positions;

14 (4) is in the process of organizing free and fair
15 elections for a new government to be held in a timely
16 manner and to be conducted under the supervision
17 of United Nations observers with all Syrians, includ-
18 ing members of the diaspora, eligible to participate,
19 as supported in United Nations Security Council
20 Resolution 2254 (2015);

21 (5) is making tangible progress toward estab-
22 lishing an independent judiciary;

23 (6) is demonstrating respect for and compliance
24 with internationally recognized human rights and

1 basic freedoms as specified in the Universal Declara-
2 tion of Human Rights;

3 (7) is taking steps to verifiably fulfill its com-
4 mitments under the Convention on the Prohibition
5 of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and
6 Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction
7 and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear
8 Weapons and is making tangible progress toward be-
9 coming a signatory to the Convention on the Prohi-
10 bition of the Development, Production and Stock-
11 piling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin
12 Weapons and on their Destruction the Convention
13 on the Prohibition of the Development, Production
14 and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and
15 Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction and adher-
16 ing to the Missile Technology Control Regime and
17 other control lists, as necessary;

18 (8) has halted the development and deployment
19 of ballistic and cruise missiles;

20 (9) is taking verifiable steps to remove from po-
21 sitions of authority within the intelligence and secu-
22 rity services as well as the military those individuals
23 who were in a position of authority or responsibility
24 during the conflict or who are in a position of au-
25 thority or responsibility during a transition and who

1 under the authority of their position are implicated
2 in or complicit in the torture, extrajudicial killing, or
3 execution of civilians, to include those who were in-
4 volved in decisionmaking or execution of plans to use
5 chemical weapons;

6 (10) is making verifiable progress of reforming
7 the Syrian military and security services so as to
8 minimize the Government of Syria's reliance on Iran
9 and Iranian proxy forces to act on behalf or in sup-
10 port of Syria; and

11 (11) is in the process of organizing the safe,
12 unfettered and voluntary return of Syrian refugees
13 and internally displaced persons to their homes so
14 that Syrians may return without fear of retribution
15 by the Government of Syria or associated forces.

16 (c) RECERTIFICATIONS.—Not later than 90 days
17 after the date on which the President submits to the ap-
18 propriate congressional committees an initial certification
19 under subsection (b), and every 90 days thereafter
20 through September 30, 2022—

21 (1) the President shall submit to the appropria-
22 tion congressional committees a recertification that
23 the conditions described in subsection (b) are con-
24 tinuing to be met; or

1 (2) if the President is unable to make such a
2 recertification, the President shall submit to the ap-
3 propriate congressional committees a report that
4 contains—

5 (A) the reasons for which the President is
6 unable to make such a recertification; and

7 (B) a certification that no funds will be ob-
8 ligated or expended to provide assistance de-
9 scribed in subsection (a) in contravention of
10 subsection (a).

11 (d) EXCEPTION.—

12 (1) IN GENERAL.—The limitation on assistance
13 under subsection (a) shall not apply with respect
14 to—

15 (A) assistance for projects to be adminis-
16 tered by local organizations that reflect the
17 aims, needs and priorities of local communities
18 in Syria; and

19 (B) assistance for projects to meet human-
20 itarian needs, including demining and needs for
21 food, medicine, medical supplies and equipment,
22 education, and clothing.

23 (2) REPORT.—The President shall submit to
24 the appropriate congressional committees an annual
25 report on each project with respect to which this

1 subsection applies during the preceding calendar
2 year, including—

3 (A) a description of the project;

4 (B) a description of how United States
5 funds with respect to the project were used;

6 (C) the geographic location or locations of
7 the project; and

8 (D) an identification of the implementing
9 partner and a list of senior officials of the im-
10 plementing partner.

11 (3) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of
12 Congress that, to the extent practicable, the United
13 States should only fund projects described in this
14 subsection with respect to which the Government of
15 Syria, any official of the Government of Syria, and
16 any immediate family member of an official of the
17 Government of Syria do not have a financial or ma-
18 terial interest and are not affiliated with the imple-
19 menting partner of the project.

20 (e) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

21 (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-
22 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-
23 mittees” means—

1 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and
2 the Committee on Appropriations of the House
3 of Representatives; and

4 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations
5 and the Committee on Appropriations of the
6 Senate.

7 (2) ASSOCIATED FORCES.—The term “associ-
8 ated forces” includes forces of the Government of
9 the Russian Federation, the Government of the Is-
10 lamic Republic of Iran, Iranian-backed proxy mili-
11 tias, and Hezbollah.

12 (3) DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY.—The term “di-
13 rectly or indirectly” includes assistance to multilat-
14 eral institutions and international governmental or-
15 ganizations, such as the United Nations and related
16 agencies, the International Monetary Fund, and the
17 World Bank.

18 **SEC. 5. REPORT ON DELIVERY OF UNITED STATES HUMANI-**
19 **TARIAN ASSISTANCE TO SYRIA.**

20 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the
21 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State
22 and the Administrator of the United States Agency for
23 International Development shall submit to the appropriate
24 congressional committees a report on delivery of United
25 States humanitarian assistance to Syria.

1 (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The report re-
2 quired by subsection (a) shall include the following:

3 (1) A description of the challenges of access to
4 areas of Syria controlled by the Government of Syria
5 or associated forces for purposes of providing United
6 States humanitarian assistance, including assistance
7 funded through multilateral institutions and inter-
8 national governmental organizations.

9 (2) A description of where such United States
10 humanitarian assistance has been able to be deliv-
11 ered in such areas.

12 (3) A description of where such United States
13 humanitarian assistance has been denied access in
14 such areas.

15 (4) A description of how the United States Gov-
16 ernment is working to improve access to such areas.

17 (5) A description of the roles and responsibil-
18 ities of United States allies and partners and other
19 countries in the region in ensuring access to such
20 areas.

21 (6) A description of how such United States hu-
22 manitarian assistance and implementing partners of
23 such assistance are monitored and evaluated.

24 (7) A description of the major challenges that
25 the United States faces in monitoring such United

1 States humanitarian assistance and how the United
2 States is working to overcome such challenges.

3 (8) A description of the strategy of the United
4 States to deliver humanitarian assistance to areas of
5 Syria controlled by the Government of Syria or asso-
6 ciated forces and in which the Government of Syria
7 or associated forces is impeding access to such
8 areas.

9 (c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section, the term “appro-
10 priate congressional committees” and “associated forces”
11 have the meanings given such terms in section 4(f).